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STATEMENT IN RESPONSE TO SPEECH BY PRESIDENT DORTICOS OF CUBA IN THE GA OF THE UN, BY ADLAI E. STEVENSON, US PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE.

CIRCUMSTANCES AND TONE OF DORTICOS SPEECH WILL DETERMINE TIME AND FORUM FOR DELIVERY OF THIS STATEMENT, VERY POSSIBLY AS STATEMENT TO THE PRESS, TO BE SUBSEQUENTLY CIRCULATED AS UN DOCUMENT. PRESENT PLANS CONTEMPLATE THAT IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING DORTICOS SPEECH US WILL MAKE BRIEF POINT OF ORDER STATEMENT IN WHICH REFERENCE WILL BE MADE TO PRESS STATEMENT.

THE MISSION DRAFT EXPANDS THE DEPARTMENT DRAFT AND AT THIS STAGE IS SOMEWHAT REPETITIVE. WHERE NECESSARY IT WILL BE CUT HERE.

TEXT FOLLOWS:

MY TASK IS NOT DIFFICULT FOR IT IS WIDELY RECOGNIZED THAT SLANDER AND INVECTIVE ARE NO SUBSTITUTE FOR FACTS AND THAT THE WEAKER A CASE IS THE LONGER IT TAKES TO PRESENT. I WILL BE BRIEF.

THE CHARGES JUST REHEARSED AGAINST MY GOVERNMENT ARE NEITHER ORIGINAL NOR TRUE. THEY PROVE BUT ONE THING -- THE PATIENCE OF THE ASSEMBLY. FOR FOUR TIMES WITHIN THE LAST EIGHT MONTHS, ONCE IN THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY, ONCE IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND TWICE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THE UNITED NATIONS HAS DECISIVELY REJECTED ACCUSATIONS SIMILAR TO THOSE WE HAVE HEARD TODAY.

WILL IT HELP THE PRESIDENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF

CUBA

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CUBA IF I REPEAT THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES?

MY GOVERNMENT, LIKE THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE OTHER INDEPENDENT AMERICAN REPUBLICS, WILL HONOR ITS COMMITMENTS TO THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AND TO THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM. BUT MY GOVERNMENT WILL EXERCISE THE RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE - A RIGHT EXPRESSLY RECOGNIZED IN THE CHARTER - AGAINST AGGRESSION IN THIS HEMISPHERE.

THE CHARGES MADE BY CUBA AGAINST THE UNITED STATES ARE DICTATED BY TWO FACTORS. ONE IS THAT AS A COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT THE CASTRO REGIME HAS ASSOCIATED ITSELF WITH THE SINO-SOVIET BLOC IN ITS STATED PURSUIT OF WORLD DOMINATION. A TACTIC ALWAYS USED BY THE COMMUNISTS IN SEEKING THIS OBJECTIVE IS TO RIDICULE, MALIGN AND VILIFY ANYONE WITH THE COURAGE TO OPPOSE THEM.

THE SECOND FACTOR IS CUBA'S SELF-INFLICTED EXCLUSION FROM THE AMERICAN FAMILY OF NATIONS. THE CASTRO REGIME HAS CHOSEN TO CAST ITS LOT WITH THE COMMUNIST WORLD. IN SO DOING IT HAS TURNED ITS BACK ON HISTORY, TRADITION, RELIGION AND CULTURE. CUBA CAN NO LONGER LOOK WITH CONFIDENCE TO ITS NEIGHBORS. INSTEAD, CUBA IS AT THE MERCY OF THE POLITICAL RIPTIDES THAT SWEEP THROUGH THE COMMUNIST WORLD WITH DISQUIETING FREQUENCY.

THIS IS ONE FACT ON WHICH THE PREVIOUS SPEAKER DID NOT - UNDERSTANDABLY - DWELL. THE FACT THAT THE CASTRO REGIME HAS TURNED OVER THE CONTROL OF ITS DESTINIES TO THE SERVANTS OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM. THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET UNION NOW HOLDS CUBA IN ITS GRIP -- A GRIP THAT INVARIABLY TIGHTENS AND NEVER - VOLUNTARILY - LOOSENS. THUS THE OTHER NATIONS OF THE AMERICAS ARE UNDERSTANDABLY ANXIOUS AND ALERT. BUT VIGILANCE CANNOT AND SHOULD NOT BE EQUATED WITH INTERVENTION, NOR ALARM WITH AGGRESSION.

WE SHOULD ALL RECALL THAT THE HEMISPHERE - AND THE WORLD - WAS PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE ORIGINAL PROMISES OF THE CASTRO GOVERNMENT THAT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL JUSTICE WOULD BE BROUGHT TO THE CUBAN PEOPLE. THIS WORLD HAS - I WOULD HOPE - ROOM FOR A DIVERSITY OF SYSTEMS BASED ON FREEDOM AND LIBERTY FOR THE PEOPLE.

ITS

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ITS ORIGINAL PLEDGES HAVE NOW BEEN DISCARDED BY THE CUBAN REGIME, AND WE CONDEMN WITH ALL THE FORCE AT OUR COMMAND THE VIOLATION AGAINST CIVIL JUSTICE, THE DRUMHEAD EXECUTIONS AND THE SUPPRESSION OF POLITICAL, INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM WHICH HAVE BEEN INFLICTED ON THE CUBAN PEOPLE. BUT EVEN THESE EXCESSES WOULD NOT CONSTITUTE A DIRECT THREAT TO THE PEACE AND INDEPENDENCE OF OTHER STATES. WHAT WE CANNOT ACCEPT - AND WILL NEVER ACCEPT - IS THAT CUBA HAS BECOME THE SPRING-BOARD FOR THE AGGRESSIVE AND SUBVERSIVE AIMS OF THE SINO-SOVIET BLOC WHICH SEEKS TO DESTROY THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM, TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE AMERICAS AND TO OBSTRUCT THE PEACEFUL, DEMOCRATIC EVOLUTION OF THIS HEMISPHERE TOWARDS SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

THE STATEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES ON THIS SUBJECT, AND THE RECENT JOINT RESOLUTION OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AMPLY ATTEST TO THIS CONCERN, BUT THAT THE UNITED STATES ALONE IS CONCERNED, OR THAT IT IS PLANNING AGGRESSION, AGAINST CUBA, AS HAS BEEN CHARGED BY THE PRESIDENT OF CUBA AT SUCH LENGTH, IS COMPLETELY FALSE AND CATEGORICALLY DENIED.

IF THERE IS ANY DOUBT AS TO THE SOLIDARITY OF THE NATIONS OF THIS HEMISPHERE ON THE PROBLEMS OF CUBA, A REVIEW OF THE INFORMAL MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, WHICH WAS HELD LAST WEEK IN WASHINGTON, WILL DISPEL THEM.

THE FOREIGN MINISTERS AND SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS HAVE JUST CONCLUDED TWO DAYS OF INFORMAL DISCUSSION WHICH WERE CONCERNED PRINCIPALLY WITH SINO-SOVIET INTERVENTION IN CUBA. THEY DECLARED THAT DURING THE MEETING IT WAS MANIFEST THAT AT THE PRESENT JUNCTURE THE MOST URGENT PROBLEM FACING THE HEMISPHERE IS THE SINO-SOVIET INTERVENTION IN CUBA AS AN ATTEMPT TO CONVERT THE ISLAND INTO AN ARMED BASE FOR COMMUNIST PENETRATION OF THE AMERICAS AND SUBVERSION OF THE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS OF THE HEMISPHERE.

THIS CONSTITUTES UNANIMOUS REJECTION BY THE HEMISPHERE OF THE CYNICAL PROTESTATIONS OF INNOCENCE BY THE CUBAN REGIME. THE HEMISPHERE REPRESENTATIVES UNANIMOUSLY AFFIRMED THEIR WILL TO STRENGTHEN THE SECURITY OF THE HEMISPHERE AGAINST ALL

AGGRESSION

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FROM NEW YORK

AGGRESSION AND ALL SITUATIONS THREATENING THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE HEMISPHERE. THEY NOTED THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTER-AMERICAN REGIONAL SYSTEM AND STATED THAT A MILITARY INTERVENTION OF COMMUNIST POWERS IN CUBA CANNOT BE JUSTIFIED AS A SITUATION ANALOGOUS TO THE DEFENSIVE MEASURES ADOPTED IN OTHER PARTS OF THE FREE WORLD IN ORDER TO FACE SOVIET IMPERIALISM.

THE EIGHTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, HELD AT PUNTA DEL ESTE EARLIER THIS YEAR, DETERMINED UNANIMOUSLY THAT THE CASTRO-COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT OF CUBA HAD RENDERED ITSELF INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM. BY ITS OWN ACTS, THE CUBAN REGIME HAD EXCLUDED ITSELF FROM THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM WHICH IS FOUNDED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF FREE, REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY.

THE COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS IN WASHINGTON LAST WEEK REFLECTED THE SENSE OF INCREASED GRAVITY WITH WHICH THE AMERICAN STATES HAVE WITNESSED A SUCCESSION OF DEVELOPMENT IN CUBA SINCE THE PUNTA DEL ESTE MEETING.

IN THESE INTERVENING MONTHS THE CUBAN REGIME HAD EXTENDED ITS TYRANNICAL DOMINATION OF THE UNFORTUNATE CUBAN PEOPLE. IT HAD CONTINUED ITS DRIVE TO IMPOSE COMMUNISM ON THEM, WITHOUT ANY EXPRESSION OF THEIR WILL. AND IT HAD CONTINUED TO TRY TO SUBVERT ITS NEIGHBORS THROUGH PROPAGANDA AND THE TRAINING OF MERCENARIES.

BUT OF MOST GRAVE AND IMMEDIATE CONCERN IN TERMS OF HEMISPHERE SECURITY, THE CASTRO-COMMUNIST REGIME HAD SUDDENLY OPENED CUBA TO A FLOOD OF SOVIET WEAPONS AND "TECHNICIANS," AND TO THE SOVIET UNION'S SO-CALLED "FISHING FLEET." BY THESE ACTS THE CUBAN REGIME HAD NOT ONLY ARMED ITSELF TO A DEGREE NEVER BEFORE SEEN IN ANY LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRY, REGARDLESS OF SIZE; IT HAD ALSO WELCOMED PENETRATION BY THE FOREMOST EXPONENT OF A DOCTRINE ALREADY CONDEMNED IN THIS HEMISPHERE AS "ALIEN" AND "INCOMPATIBLE."

THESE ACTS COULD NOT BE IGNORED. THE FOREIGN MINISTERS LAST WEEK THEREFORE UNANIMOUSLY EXPRESSED THEIR VIEW THAT THE MOST URGENT PROBLEM OF THE HEMISPHERE TODAY IS THE INTERVENTION

IN

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IN CUBA OF THE SOVIET UNION AND OF COMMUNIST CHINA, AND THEIR JOINT ATTEMPT TO CONVERT THAT UNHAPPY ISLAND INTO AN ARMED BASE FOR COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND SUBVERSION OF THE OTHER AMERICAN STATES.

IN THE FACE OF THIS THREAT, THE FOREIGN MINISTERS UNANIMOUSLY REAFFIRMED THEIR WILL TO STRENGTHEN THE SECURITY OF THE HEMISPHERE AGAINST ALL AGGRESSION, FROM INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE HEMISPHERE, AND AGAINST ALL DEVELOPMENTS AND SITUATIONS CAPABLE OF THREATENING ITS PEACE AND SECURITY.

THE MEASURES WHICH THE FOREIGN MINISTERS AGREED TO UNDERTAKE ARE CLEARLY INDICATED IN THE COMMUNIQUE. IN EVERY CASE THEY ARE PURELY DEFENSIVE IN NATURE.

THE PASSIONATE AND HISTORIC SUPPORT OF THE MEMBERS OF THE OAS FOR THE PRINCIPLES OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND NON-INTERVENTION ARE WELL-KNOWN. THESE PRINCIPLES HAVE BEEN ENSHRINED IN THE ACTS OF INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCES, ANTE-DATING BY DECADES EVEN THE CONCEPTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

THE UNITED STATES SHARES IN FULL MEASURE THE DEEP CONCERN OF ITS SISTER REPUBLICS IN THIS HEMISPHERE. IT HAS THEREFORE ALREADY BEGUN TO DO ITS PART TOWARD MAKING EFFECTIVE MEASURES CONCERNING SHIPPING AND TRADE WITH CUBA, AND THE SURVEILLANCE OF WEAPONS DELIVERIES, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SPIRIT MANIFEST DURING THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE EIGHTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION AND OTHER INTER-AMERICAN INSTRUMENTS.

IT HAS ALSO CALLED UPON FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLES EVERYWHERE TO JOIN IT IN THIS ENDEAVOR.

THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE IT CLEAR ON MANY OCCASIONS THAT IT WILL NOT TOLERATE ANY ATTEMPT TO BRING ABOUT A COMMUNIST TAKEOVER OF CUBA. IT HAS ALSO MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WILL NOT TOLERATE ANY ATTEMPT TO BRING ABOUT A COMMUNIST TAKEOVER OF ANY OTHER AMERICAN STATE.

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IT HAS ALSO CALLED UPON FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLES EVERYWHERE TO JOIN IT IN THIS ENDEAVOR.

THE PURPOSE OF THESE MEASURES IS THE COLLECTIVE DEFENSE OF THE HEMISPHERE. THESE MEASURES HAVE NO OFFENSIVE PURPOSE. THE UNITED STATES HAD MADE CLEAR ON MANY OCCASIONS THAT IT WILL NOT COMMIT AGGRESSION. BUT LET IT BE EQUALLY CLEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT TOLERATE AGGRESSION AGAINST ITSELF OR AGAINST ANY

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PART OF THIS HEMISPHERE, AND THE OTHER NATIONS OF THIS HEMISPHERE WILL, INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY, EXERCISE THE RIGHT ENCLOSED IN THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER TO SAFEGUARD THEIR SECURITY, AND TO DEFEND THEMSELVES BY SUCH MEANS AS THE THREAT MAY REQUIRE.

NO THREAT TO PEACE IN THIS HEMISPHERE ARISES OUT OF THE UNANIMOUS DETERMINATION OF AMERICAN STATES TO PROTECT AND PRESERVE THEIR FREE TRADITIONS AND INSTITUTIONS. IT ARISES SOLELY FROM THE BETRAYAL OF THE CUBAN PEOPLE BY THEIR MASTERS, AND FROM THE INTERVENTION OF THE SOVIET UNION AND OF COMMUNIST CHINA IN THE AFFAIRS OF THIS HEMISPHERE. IT IS THEY THAT HAVE BROUGHT THE COLD WAR TO THE AMERICAS.

THERE IS NO INTENTION OF SITTING IDLY BY WHILE VITAL SECURITY IS THREATENED.

CUBA PROFFESSES THAT IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN WILLING TO HOLD DISCUSSIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES TO IMPROVE RELATIONS AND TO REDUCE TENSIONS. BUT THE PROBLEM OF CUBA IS NOT JUST A US PROBLEM. IT IS A COLLECTIVE PROBLEM FOR ALL THE STATES OF THIS HEMISPHERE. IT IS NOT THE UNITED STATES ALONE BUT ALL OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THIS HEMISPHERE WHICH HAVE DECLARED THE INTERVENTION OF SOVIET COMMUNISM IN CUBA TO BE THE MOST URGENT PROBLEM CONFRONTING THE HEMISPHERE. IT IS NOT THE UNITED STATES ALONE, BUT ALL OF THE NATIONS OF THIS HEMISPHERE WHICH HAVE CALLED FOR MEASURES OF COLLECTIVE DEFENSE OF THE KIND MENTIONED IN THE FOREIGN MINISTERS COMMUNIQUE.

THE TRAGEDY OF CUBA IS STILL UNFOLDING. HOW SHORT HAS BEEN THE TIME SINCE THE TWO CONTINENTS OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE ACCLAIMED THE DOWNFALL OF THE BATISTA DICTATORSHIP AND HAILED WHAT PROMISED TO BE A DEMOCRATIC AND PROGRESSIVE REVOLUTION. HOW QUICKLY THAT PROMISE WAS REPLACED BY A REIGN OF TERROR, CONFISCATION AND THE SUPPRESSION OF POLITICAL, INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOMS. SWIFTER STILL WAS THE REVULSION WITHIN CUBA AND WITHOUT.

JUST AS FEAR IS THE FIRST PRICE OF OPPRESSION, IT WOULD ALSO HAVE BEEN THE FINAL PRICE IF THE CUBAN OPPRESSOR HAD NOT BEEN SAVED FROM THE CUBAN PEOPLE BY THE SOVIET UNION. HOW MANY TIMES IN HISTORY HAS FEAR OF THE PEOPLE'S WRATH DRIVEN TYRANTS TO SELL THEIR NATION TO MORE FEROCE TYRANTS?



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CUBAN LEADERS DARE FACE THEIR PEOPLE WITHOUT THESE ALIEN PROTECTORS? A COUNTRY BRISTLING WITH SOVIET MISSILES AND "PROTECTORS" IS YOUR ANSWER. THEREFORE, WHILE WE WILL NOT TAKE OFFENSIVE ACTION AGAINST CUBA, NEITHER WILL WE PERMIT AGGRESSION IN THIS HEMISPHERE.

MEANWHILE, WE WILL CONSTANTLY WORK TO REASSURE THE CUBAN PEOPLE THAT THEY HAVE NOT BEEN FORGOTTEN OR ABANDONED AND MAKE CLEAR TO FREEDOM-LOVING CUBANS, BOTH WITHIN AND WITHOUT CUBA, THAT THEY CAN COUNT ON THE SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN THEIR EFFORTS TO FREE THEIR COUNTRY FROM THE GRIP OF SOVIET DOMINATION AND RECAPTURE THEIR REVOLUTION. WE DID THIS FOR THOSE WHO SOUGHT THE OVERTHROW OF BATISTA. WE CAN DO NO LESS TODAY.

THE FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING AT WASHINGTON VOICED THE FRATERNAL AFFECTION OF ALL AMERICAN PEOPLES FOR THE PEOPLE OF CUBA, WHO ALL FERVENTLY WISH TO SEE EMBRACED AGAIN IN THE AMERICAN FAMILY OF NATIONS. THE UNITED STATES JOINES WHOLEHEARTEDLY IN THIS DESIRE.

IF THE CUBAN REGIME WISHES TO ESTABLISH NORMAL FRIENDLY RELATIONS IN THIS HEMISPHERE, LET IT RETURN TO THE CONCEPTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM; LET IT CEASE ITS SUBSERVIENCE TO THE SOVIET UNION - LET IT CEASE TO BE AN AVENUE OF INTERVENTION WHICH THREATENS THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES AND THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF ALL ITS NEIGHBORS WITH AN ALIEN DOCTRINE.

THE WAY IS CLEAR, AND THE CHOICE IS CUBA'S.

STEVENSON.